

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00244 01 OF 03 192023Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15
TRSE-00 NRC-05 EB-08 /091 W
-----085375 192036Z /41

O 191900Z APR 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2828
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK POUCH

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0244

FROM US REP MBFR

USSALTTWO

USMISSION NATO NIMMEDIATE. ALL OTHER MBFR MISSIONS ROUTINE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM NATO
SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO THE NAC

AT ITS APRIL 19 MEETING, THE AD HOC GROUP APPROVED IN
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00244 01 OF 03 192023Z

GENERAL TERMS THE OUTLINE TO BE USED BY NETHERLANDS REP (DE
VOS) IN MAKING REGULAR AHG ORAL REPOPRT TO THE NAC ON
APRIL 21. NETHERLANDS REP WILL BE ASSISTED BY US REP AND
TURKISH REP (INHAN). NETHERLANDS REP WILL DRAW ON MATERIAL IN
THE OUTLINE, NOT NECESSARILY USING IT IN FULL. IN THIS REGARD,
IT WILL BE NOTED THAT PARA 11 OF THE PRESENT REPORT WAS
SPECIFICALLY MARKED FOR USE ON A CONTINGENCY BASIS.

UNLIKE WRITTEN REPORTS TO THE NAC, THE AD HOC GROUP DOES NOT UNDERTAKE WORD-FOR-WORD APPROVAL OF THESE OUTLINES, WHICH ARE CONSIDERED AS SPEAKING NOTES. THE TEXT OF THE APRIL 21 ORAL REPORT OUTLINE FOLLOWS BELOW. BEGIN TEXT:

1. MY REPORT TODAY ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS COVERS THE PERIOD FROM MARCH 10, 1978, DATE OF OUR LAST ORAL REPORT TO THE COUNCIL, THROUGH THE PLENARY SESSION OF LAST WEDNESDAY, APRIL 19, WHICH MARKED THE CONCLUSION OF THE 14TH NEGOTIATING ROUND. THE 15TH ROUND IS DUE TO BEGIN IN THE WEEK STARTING MAY 14.

2. THE PERIOD COVERED BY THE PRESENT REPORT WAS MARKED BY TWO IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS, THE ONE RELATED TO DATA EXCHANGE AND DISCUSSION, AND THE OTHER TO THE PRESENTATION OF THE NEW WESTERN MBFR INITIATIVE.

DATA

3. AS REGARDS DATA, HAVING RECEIVED COUNCIL AUTHORISATION TO DO SO, WE PROCEEDED IN THE INFORMAL SESSION OF MARCH 15 TO THE EXCHANGE OF THE INTRODUCTORY STATEMENTS ELABORATED WITH EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES AND, SUBSEQUENTLY, TO THE ACTUAL EXCHANGE OF ADDITIONAL GROUND FORCE DATA IN THE PREVIOUSLY AGREED FORMAT. FIGURES PRESENTED BY THE EAST WERE TRANSMITTED TO YOU IN THE AHG'S SPECIAL REPORT OF MARCH 17.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00244 01 OF 03 192023Z

4. ALREADY IN THIS SAME SESSION OF MARCH 15 WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES INITIATED THE DISCUSSION ON THE NEW DATA, AND THIS DISCUSSION HAS BEEN CONTINUED IN THE FOLLOWING INFORMAL SESSIONS, UP TO THE END OF THE PRESENT ROUND.

5. WESTERN QUESTIONS ABOUT EASTERN GROUND FORCE DATA HAVE BEEN AIMED AT DETERMINING, IN AS MUCH DETAIL AS POSSIBLE, THE CRITERIA EMPLOYED BY THE EAST IN DIVIDING ITS GROUNDFORCE MANPOWER BETWEEN THE TWO CATEGORIES INVOLVED - E.E. "MAJOR FORMATIONS" AND "OTHER THAN MAJOR FORMATIONS" - AND THE WAY IN WHICH SPECIFIC UNITS OR TYPES OF UNITS HAVE IN FACT BEEN ALLOCATED. EASTERN ANSWERS TO OUR QUESTIONS HAVE IN GENERAL BEEN FORTHCOMING, AND WE HAVE OBTAINED USEFUL INFORMATION TO FACILITATE COMPARISON OF THE EASTERN FIGURES WITH CORRESPONDING NATO "RED" DATA, AND THUS TO BEGIN TO DEVELOP A MORE SPECIFIC PROFILE OF DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THE TWO.

6. AS WE ALREADY INDICATED IN OUR SPECIAL REPORT OF MARCH 17, THE PRESENT PROFILE SHOWS AN UNEVEN DISTRIBUTION OF THE DISCREPANCIES, WITH SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES IN SOVIET AND POLISH GROUND FORCES.

7. APART FROM SUCH EVIDENT OUTSTANDING FEATURES, THE RESULTS OBTAINED UP TILL NOW ARE STILL OF A PRELIMINARY NATURE. THE AHG INTENDS TO SEEK FURTHER REFINEMENT IN THE NEXT ROUND. DEFINING IN A MORE SPECIFIC AND PRECISE MANNER THE PROFILE OF THE DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN EASTERN FIGURES AND WESTERN DATA ON EASTERN MANPOWER, OF COURSE ONLY CONSTITUTES THE FIRST STEP IN THE SEARCH FOR THE SOURCES OF THESE DISCREPANCIES. WHEN THE NEGOTIATIONS RESUME, WE INTEND TO TURN OUR ATTENTION INCREASINGLY FROM THE METHOD USED TO SEPARATE EASTERN DATA INTO CATEGORIES TO THE ACTUAL FIGURES THEMSELVES AND THE EASTERN EXPLANATION OF THEM. WE INTEND TO ENQUIRE ON

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00244 02 OF 03 192023Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15
TRSE-00 NRC-05 EB-08 /091 W
-----085380 192038Z /41

O 191900Z APR 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2829
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOVIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK POUCH

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0244

A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BASIS IN ORDER TO FIND OUT WHETHER CERTAIN UNITS OR CATEGORIES OF UNITS - INCLUDED IN NATO FIGURES - MAY POSSIBLY HAVE BEEN EXCLUDED BY THE EAST.

8. THE AHG UNDERSTANDS THAT THE COUNCIL'S MBFR

WORKING GROUP IS ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN ANALYSIS OF THE DATA AND SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION WE HAVE SO FAR OBTAINED FROM THE EAST. THE GROUP LOOKS FORWARD TO RECEIVING THIS STUDY AND HAS MEANWHILE, AS YOU WELL KNOW, SENT TO THE COUNCIL A WRITTEN REPORT ON THE DATA DISCUSSION, ON GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL, UP TO THE END OF THE ROUND.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00244 02 OF 03 192023Z

9. AFTER INITIAL DISCUSSION OF GROUNDFORCE MANPOWER DATA HAD BEEN CARRIED ON DURING THREE INFORMAL SESSIONS, AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SCENARIO WHICH HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED WITH THE EAST, THE TWO SIDES, IN THE INFORMAL SESSION OF APRIL 4 ALSO EXCHANGED ADDITIONAL AIRFORCE DATA AS AGREED, I.E. EACH SIDE USING ITS OWN PREFERRED METHOD OF BREAKDOWN. THE EASTERN FIGURES WERE TRANSMITTED TO THE COUNCIL IN THE SPECIAL AHG REPORT OF APRIL 5. THEY SHOW A RELATIVELY UNIFORM PATTERN OF DISCREPANCIES, THE FIGURE FOR EACH EASTERN PARTICIPANT BEING ROUGHLY 80 PERCENT OF THE NATO ESTIMATE.

10. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE SO FAR REFRAINED FROM ADDRESSING THESE EASTERN AIRFORCE DATA IN THE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EAST. IN VIEW OF OUR NEGOTIATING POSITION, FOCUSSED ON EXISTING GROUNDFORCE DISAPRITIES AND THE NEED TO ELIMINATE EASTERN SUPERIORITY IN GROUNDFORCE MANPOWER, OUR INTEREST LIES IN FOCUSSED THE DATA DISCUSSION IN THE FIRST INSTANCE ON THIS SECTOR. FURTHERMORE, SINCE THE EASTERN AIRFORCE BREAKDOWN WAS LIMITED TO SPECIFICATION OF NATIONAL TOTALS, THE POSSIBILITIES FOR MORE PENETRATING ANALYSIS OF THE NEW FIGURES WOULD UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES AT ANY RATE SEEM ONLY MODEST.

TO BE USED IF APPROPRIATE: BEGIN BRACKET: 11. ON THE OTHER HAND, RENEWED EFFORTS AT THIS STATE TO MOVE THE EAST TO FOLLOW THE WESTERN EXAMPLE OF PROVIDING A BREAKDOWN OF AIRFORCE MANPOWER WHICH CORRESPONDS TO THE WAY IN WHICH GROUNDFORCE MANPOWER HAS BEEN DISAGGREGATED, WOULD BE LIKELY TO MEET WITH EASTERN COUNTERREQUESTS REGARDING THEIR PROPOSAL TO EXCHANGE "AVERAGE MANNING LEVELS". ACCORDING TO RECENT NAC GUIDANCE, THE AHG IS TO ADOPT A CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00244 02 OF 03 192023Z

THAT PROPOSAL. END BRACKET.

12. PRECEDING THE AIRFORCE DATA EXCHANGE, IN

THE APRIL 4 AND 18 INFORMAL SESSIONS, THE CZECH REPRESENTATIVE MADE A STRONG PLEA FOR ACCEPTANCE OF THE EASTERN AVERAG MANNING LEVEL PROPOSAL.

13. CONCLUDING THIS PART OF MY REPORT, THE AHG WILL, OF COURSE, CONTINUE IN THE NEXT ROUND TO PRESS FOR SUSTAINED AND SERIOUS EFFORT BY BOTH SIDES TO CLARIFY THE REASONS FOR THE DISCREPANCIES AND TO REACH AGREEMENT ON DATA, AS A PREREQUISITE TO AGREEMENT ON FORCE REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS. WESTERN ACTION IN THIS FIELD WILL HAVE TO UNDERSCORE THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO THE BASIC CONDITION UNDER WHICH WE PUT FORWARD THE NEW INITIATIVE, I.E., "THAT AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON MANPOWER DATA".

NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE

14. AFTER THE COUNCIL HAD INSTRUCTED THE AHG TO INTRODUCE THE NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE WE DID PRESENT THIS INITIATIVE, FIRST IN THE INFORMAL SESSION OF APRIL 12 AND SUBSEQUENTLY IN PLENARY SESSION ON APRIL 19.

15. ALTHOUGH IT IS , OF COURSE, TOO EARLY TO MAKE ANY JUDGEMENT AS TO TIMING AND SUBSTANCE OF THE EASTERN RESPONSE, IT IS TO BE NOTED THAT, CONTRARY TO WHAT HAPPENED AFTER TABLING OF THE WESTERN OPTION III PROPOSAL IN DECEMBER 1975, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES THIS TIME HAVE SHOWN CONSIDERABLE INTEREST BY ASKING A GOOD NUMBER OF QUESTIONS AIMED AT CLARIFYING THE PRECISE MEANING OF DIFFERENT TERMS OF THE NEW INITIATIVE.

16. PRINCIPAL THEMES IN THIS QUESTIONING INCLUDED:

-- THE NATURE OF THE REDUCTION AND LIMITATION
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 MBFR V 00244 02 OF 03 192023Z

COMMITMENTS TO BE UNDERTAKEN BY THE VARIOUS PARTICIPANTS, PARTICULARLY WHETHER SUCH COMMITMENTS WOULD BE COLLECTIVE OR INDIVIDUAL. THEY CRITICIZED THE ABSENCE OF INDIVIDUAL REDUCTION COMMITMENTS;

-- WHETHER THEY SIZE OF PHASE I PROPOSED REDUCTIONS WOULD BE ALTERED BY AGREEMENT ON DATA. THEY ASKED WHETHER THE WEST WAS STILL INSISTING ON ASYMMETRIC

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00244 03 OF 03 192023Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15
TRSE-00 NRC-05 EB-08 /091 W
-----085408 192039Z /41

O 191900Z APR 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2830
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK POUCH

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0244

FROM US REP MBFR USSALTTWO

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE ALL OTHER MBFR MISSIONS ROUTINE

REDUCTIONS OF THE ORIGINAL SIZE;

--THE NATURE AND COMPOSITION OF THE US AND SOVIET PHASE I
REDUCTION PACKAGE;

-- THE MEANING OF THE WEST'S POSITION ON ASSOCIATED
MEASURES. THEY ASKED WHETHER THEY WOULD APPLY TO ALL
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00244 03 OF 03 192023Z

PARTICIPANTS AND IN BOTH PHASES; AND

-- THEY ASKED WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF NO AGREEMENT WERE REACHED
IN PHASE II WITHIN THE SPECIFIED TIME LIMITS.

17. IN THE PLENARY SESSION OF APRIL 19, THE SOVIET

REPRESENTATIVE FIRMLY REJECTED THE WESTERN ASSYMETRIC APPROACH. HIS PRESENTATION CONCLUDED WITH A STATEMENT THAT EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WOULD THOROUGHLY STUDY THE NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE.

18. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE ADMITTED THAT THE NEW PROPOSALS DO REPRESENT A MOVE OF SUBSTANCE BY THE WEST.

19. FINALLY, AS REGARDS THE NEW INITIATIVE, THE AHG HAS REQUESTED ME TO BRING TO YOUR ATTENTION THE FACT THAT, PURSUANT TO COUNCIL GUIDANCE, IN PRESENTING THE NEW PROPOSALS WESTERN REPS HAVE STRESSED THAT THE WEST CONTINUES TO ATTACH GREAT WEIGHT TO THE SUBJECT OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES, AND HAVE ANNOUNCED THAT THEY WOULD ADDRESS THIS SUBJECT AS A MATTER TO BE AGREED IN PHASE I. THE EASTERN REPS HAVE ASKED WHETHER THE WEST HAS ADDITIONAL MEASURES TO ADVANCE AS PART OF THE INITIATIVE. WESTERN REPS RESPONDED THAT THEY DID NOT HAVE ADDITIONAL MEASURES TO PROPOSE AT THIS TIME BUT WOULD AT A LATER DATE. IN THE VIEW OF THE AD HOC GROUP, IT WOULD BE TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE WEST TO BE IN THE POSITION TO MAKE ADDITIONAL PROPOSALS WITH RESPECT TO ASSOCIATED MEASURES SOON.

OTHER SUBJECTS

20. APART FROM THE TWO MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS I HAVE JUST COVERED, THERE HAS BEEN DURING THE PAST WEEKS SOME FURTHER
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00244 03 OF 03 192023Z

DISCUSSION OF GENERAL ISSUES TO BE DEALT WITH IN MBFR AGREEMENT.

21. AS BEFORE, EASTERN REPS DID FOCUS THEIR CRITICISM ON THE WESTERN POSITION REGARDING ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS AND COLLECTIVE FORCE LIMITATIONS; ON THE REFUSAL OF NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO ENTER IN A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT INTO COMMITMENTS ON SCOPE AND TIMING OF THEIR SECOND PHASE REDUCTIONS; AND ON THE UNWILLINGNESS OF THOSE PARTICIPANTS TO REDUCE THEIR ARMAMENTS. REGARDING THE ARMAMENTS QUESTION, EASTERN STATEMENTS SEEMED TO CONFIRM PREVIOUS INDICATION OF POTENTIAL FLEXIBILITY, AMOUNTING TO ACCEPTANCE IN PRINCIPLE OF A SELECTIVE APPROACH, AND AGREEMENT THAT CONCRETE OBLIGATIONS REGARDING THE COMPOSITION AND QUANTITY OF ARMAMENTS TO BE REDUCED IN THE SECOND PHASE WOULD BE WORKED OUT ONLY IN THE COURSE OF SECOND PHASE NEGOTIATIONS. IN OTHER RESPECTS NOTHING OF SIGNIFICANCE DEVELOPED.

22. EASTERN REPS HAVE ALSO CONTINUED TO VIGOROUSLY ADVOCATE ADOPTION OF THEIR OLD FREEZE PROPOSAL. END TEXT.RESOR

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INSTRUCTIONS, REPORTS, AGREEMENTS, NEGOTIATIONS, MEETING REPORTS, MEETINGS, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MBFRV00244
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780168-0195
Format: TEL
From: MBFR VIENNA USSALTTWO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780440/aaaabhwv.tel
Line Count: 384
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 49888bab-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2920655
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO THE NAC AT ITS APRIL 19 MEETING, THE AD HOC GROUP APPROVED IN SECRET
TAGS: PARM, NL, NATO, NAC
To: STATE DOD
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/49888bab-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014